



## Gender, Citizenship and Political Mobilization

Siim, Birte; Christensen, Ann-Dorte

DOI (link to publication from Publisher):  
[10.5278/freia.14136659](https://doi.org/10.5278/freia.14136659)

Publication date:  
1995

Document Version  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):  
Siim, B., & Christensen, A-D. (1995). *Gender, Citizenship and Political Mobilization*. Department of History, International and Social Studies, Aalborg University. FREIA's tekstserie No. 21  
<https://doi.org/10.5278/freia.14136659>

### General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal -

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us at [vbn@aub.aau.dk](mailto:vbn@aub.aau.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**Ann-Dorte Christensen &  
Birte Siim**

## **Gender, Citizenship and Political Mobilization**

**FREIA**

*Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg  
Department of Development and Planning  
Aalborg University  
Fibigerstraede 2  
DK-9220 Aalborg Ö.  
Phone: +45 98-158522 Fax: +45 98-153298*

Paper  
February 1995

**21**

Ann-Dorte Christensen & Birte Siim:  
**Gender, Citizenship and  
Political Mobilization**

Paper from  
FREIA - Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg  
Department of Development and Planning  
Aalborg University  
Fibigerstraede 2  
DK-9220 Aalborg Ö  
Phone: +45 98 158522

Print: Kopicentralen, Aalborg University, 1995

Layout: Inger Jensen and Ellen Nyrup Pedersen

ISSN: 0907-2179

FREIA's paper series contains working papers, papers for conferences and seminars, project descriptions, lecture manuscripts, chapters from books etc. The papers are made by researchers affiliated to FREIA or by researchers who have visited the centre. The paper series aims at spreading the knowledge of FREIA's activities, internally as well as externally. Editors of the series are Ann-Dorte Christensen and Ruth Emerek. The papers can be ordered at Aalborg University, Department of Development and Planning, phone: +45 98 158522, ext. 2452.

**Ann-Dorte Christensen &  
Birte Siim**

**Gender, Citizenship and  
Political Mobilization**



## Preface

The papers published in FREIA's paper series nos. 17 - 25 were all presented at the conference on **Gender Relations - State, Market, and Civil Society: The Nordic Experiences in a European Perspective**, arranged by FREIA - Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg, Aalborg University, August 14 - 18, 1993.

The idea of the conference was to examine the development of gender relations in Denmark/the Nordic countries in a comparative European perspective. In focus was the relationship between state, market and civil society/the family in the Nordic countries: the significance of this relationship to the development of gender relations - and in reverse, the influence of gender relations on the development of the Nordic welfare states. A comparative European approach was chosen for its usefulness in highlighting the specificities of the "Nordic model" regarding gender relations.

A primary purpose was to strengthen national and international cooperation on Ph.D. programmes in Social Science Gender Studies. The conference addressed Danish senior researchers within the Social Sciences. A few Ph.D.-students were invited as well as experts from other Nordic countries and international capacities within the field. The number of participants was 25. The conference was financed by the Danish Social Science Research Council.

The programme of the conference included four sessions:

- I. Gender and the Labour Market
- II. Gender, Welfare, and the Family
- III. Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship
- IV. Gender Theory and Feminist Research.

The full programme of the conference will be found at the end of this publication together with a list of the conference papers published elsewhere.

Ruth Emerek & Anna-Birte Ravn

During the last 20 years women's relation to politics in Scandinavia has changed. Women have become mobilized, and today they participate in politics both on a mass level and in the political elites. One aspect of the Scandinavian political development, which is different from the development in other modern democracies, is the parallel integration of women 'from above' and mobilization of women 'from below'. Feminists outside Scandinavia have been fascinated by women's increased political representation in Parliament, which is the highest in the world, and by the phenomenon of 'state feminism'.

The feminist approach to citizenship has focused on women's collective relation to the public, political sphere, and on the interplay between the social and political aspects of citizenship. It has been a basic hypothesis that gender inequality in the public, political sphere is 'determined' by the gender division of work and structural inequalities of women and men in the family and on the labour market. A central question in the feminist analyses of citizenship is the gendered **access to social and political citizenship**.

In the international feminist debate the emphasis has been on women's exclusion from citizenship and on the institutional and cultural barriers for women's full citizenship in modern democracies (Pateman 1988). In contrast, there has in the Nordic debate recently been an emphasis on the new forms of inclusion of women in the political elites and on women's potential as social and political agents (Hernes 1987, Skjeie 1992).

The objective of this article is to develop the feminist approach to citizenship by focusing on women's potential as social and political agents. We look at the combination of women's political mobilization and participation on a mass level. We suggest that an understanding of women's political mobilization can illuminate the notion of citizenship by emphasising the interplay between women's everyday life and their political practice.

The idea is to confront feminist reflections on citizenship with material provided by the investigations of citizenship in Denmark and Sweden (Petersson a.o. 1989, Andersen a.o. 1993)<sup>1</sup>. The results show that although gender differences in political participation have diminished, there are still systematic gender inequalities in political participation. Gender differences, however, vary with social class and generation, and there are important differences in the participation and mobilization of different groups of women.

After a short overview of gender differences in political participation the article focuses on two different themes: 1. Gender **inequality** among the well-educated employees and in the mobilized groups in the 'welfare generation' (between 30 and 45 years), and 2. Gender **equality** in men's and women's participation as 'citizen-parents' in relation to schools and child care institutions.

We end by highlighting some implications of the results for feminist research in the 1990s. First, gender inequality in political participation of well-educated and mobilized groups challenges the belief that 'education' or 'mobilization' 'by itself' abolishes gender differences in politics. Secondly, the new mobilization of men as 'citizen-parents' challenges the belief that women are mobilized by the family/state and men by the labour market.

We argue that the notion of a gendered citizenship needs to be combined with explanations of gender differences in social groups and in generations. Qualitative analyses have concluded that there are different 'models of mobilization' for different groups of women that may be an expression of new forms of class and generational differences among women (and among men). Furthermore the mobilization of men as 'citizen-parents' raises new questions about differences in the 'models of mobilization' of men that need to be explored in greater detail.

# **I. Approaches to Gender and Citizenship**

Citizenship can be defined both as the relation of individuals to the public, political life and the relation to their fellow citizens (Andersen a.o. 1993). During the 1980s there has in the international debate been a revival of interest in the theories and politics of citizenship. And during the last few years there has been a growing feminist interest in engendering citizenship and democracy (Pateman 1988, Jones 1990, Philips 1992, Siim 1993b).

Citizenship has been, and still is, a contested concept. In the political science tradition there has historically been a distinction between the liberal, the socialist and the republican understandings of citizenship (Andersen a.o. 1993). Feminist theory and modern participatory and communitarian approaches have developed a notion of participation of citizens connected not only with the public, political sphere but also with the workplace and civil society (Philips 1992).

In the classical study by the British sociologist T.H. Marshall, the connection between civil, political and social rights was emphasized. Marshall defined citizenship as: "A status bestowed on those who are full members of society. All those who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). From this perspective 'equal and full citizenship' is an ideal against which achievement can be measured, and there is a distinction between 'formal' and 'substantive' rights.

In main stream research studies gender inequalities in access to citizenship has till recently been absent. There has been an emphasis on inequalities of class, but gender and ethnicity have today become new concerns for the studies of citizenship (see Marshall and Bottomore 1992, Kymlicka 1992). And feminists have started to analyze gender and citizenship looking at both the strengths and weaknesses in the classical theories from a women's perspective (Shanley and Pateman 1991).

Feminist scholars have challenged the universalist notion of 'access to citizenship' arguing that women's access to citizenship is different from men's. The crucial thing is not that women have obtained civil, political and social rights later than men, but rather that the content, process and interplay between these rights have been different for women than for men (Hernes 1987). The central feminist hypothesis is that gender inequalities in citizenship has on a fundamental level been 'determined' by the gendered division of work and by the unequal power relations in society. But there are different understandings of the character of this 'determination,' and to what extent politics can change the gendered division of work and power relation in society (see Pateman 1988, Philips 1992)<sup>2</sup>.

Carole Pateman has formulated the most radical critique of women's exclusion from citizen rights in the classical political theories (Pateman 1985, 1988, 1989). She claims that even though women in modern democracies have obtained formal political rights, women's inclusion has been different from men's. Therefore there is a fundamental dilemma underlying women and citizenship: In order to be full citizens women must be 'like men', and women cannot be full citizens 'as women', that is as sexually<sup>3</sup> different from men (Pateman 1988). She argues further that the roots of women's exclusion lie in the marriage contract which enables men to control women in the family and society.

Pateman's powerful analysis of women's citizenship in modern democracies has been an inspiration for feminist theories. One objection has been that her analysis focuses on women's oppression on a structural level and therefore tends to underestimate historical changes and national differences in male oppression (Siim 1988). It is a question what are the implications of her analysis for an understanding of citizenship in modern democracies, where there has been an expansion of women's social citizenship and new forms of inclusion of women in politics.

In the Scandinavian welfare states motherhood has changed as 'caring and education of the young has today become part of political life' (Pateman 1985:14). This raises the question whether Scandinavia represents the exception to the patriarchal rule? On the one hand, the public/private divide has lost some of its gendered meaning. On the other hand, gender segregation on the labour market and in society has not been abolished.

Other feminist scholars have emphasised the changes in women's citizenship in modern democracies focusing on the importance of women's political participation. They argue that women's mobilization as political agents is today a crucial element in women's empowerment and in the inclusion of women as full members of the political community (Dietz 1992, Mouffe 1992b, Philips 1992). This understanding of women's citizenship is built on women's collective integration in politics and on feminist values, which express a break with the old 'maternal' values in the family (Mouffe 1992b, Dietz 1992). The analyses have emphasised the need to uncouple politics from the division between women and men and have put forward a notion of a 'pluralist and differentiated' citizenship.

We sympathise with the emphasis on women's participation in the public, political sphere as a key to women's full citizenship and with the notion of a feminist pluralism. But we argue that the combination of social citizenship and political participation remains a crucial element in the feminist rethinking of citizenship: women's social rights to welfare, wage work and abortion is an important basis for a new feminist pluralism (Siim 1993a).

## **Gender, Citizenship and Women's Mobilization in Scandinavia**

The classical studies of political mobilization have focused on the **individual** resources of citizens and their abilities to participate in political life. And later there has been an increasing interest in political

mobilization as **collective** actions, especially in the new social movements (Gundelach 1988, Touraine 1981).

Political mobilization as collective actions has been employed in studies both on a **macro-sociological** level, focusing on the implications of social change for the collective actions and identities of individuals and social groups, and on a **micro-sociological** level, focusing on the political identity and practice of 'mobilized' groups in the new social movements (Peterson 1987, Christensen 1989).

In the studies of Scandinavian citizenship, the Norwegian political scientist Helga Hernes has emphasised the interplay between political institutions and political mobilization focusing both on women's social rights and collective political mobilization (Hernes 1987, 1988). Her thesis is that **women have been mobilized by the interplay with the state and not like men by the interplay with the market**<sup>4</sup>.

Hernes argues, like Pateman, that citizenship has been divided in citizenship for men, based on work, and citizenship for women, based on motherhood. But in contrast to Pateman, she has conceptualized the transition process from a 'paternalist' welfare state, where women were the objects and not the subjects of politics, to 'state feminism' based on the inclusion of women in Scandinavian politics (Hernes 1987). Hernes' ideal is a 'woman-friendly state' that enables women to have multiple roles as mothers, workers and citizens' (Hernes 1987:15). We sympathise with this ideal, but it remains an open question how to reach this new feminist pluralism.

In Nordic feminist research the empirical analysis of women's political mobilization represents both a continuity and a break with the feminist notion of citizenship. These studies have analysed women's political participation from the perspective of the active and 'mobilized' groups and many have focused especially on women's mobilization in grass root organizations. They include both **quantitative** studies of changes in the political participation of men and women in the younger



generations, and **qualitative** studies of the active and mobilized groups of women on the microlevel.

The 'mobilization thesis' refers to different factors: 1. The development of women citizens from a 'politically passive, alienated and powerless' group to a 'strong, angry and powerful' group. 2. The growing gender-gap in the values of men and women, in the sense that women have moved to the Left compared to men. 3. And the growth of new forms of political organization and social values among the young and well-educated groups of men and women expressed in the social movements (Hernes 1987, Togeby 1989, 1991, Peterson 1987, Christensen 1989).

The quantitative studies have shown a new tendency toward gender equality among the younger generations, and the 'generation thesis' has argued that studies of political participation of the young generation present a 'mirror' of the future (Svensson & Togeby 1986).

In contrast, qualitative studies have analyzed the interplay between women's political participation, new forms of organization and new values in the social movements, and the interplay between women's participation in politics, their everyday life and life cycles. These studies have made visible the differences among women in the social movements both in terms of political objectives and practices (see Peterson 1987, Christensen 1989). A Danish case study of women in the peace movement found different 'models of mobilization' which were explained by the interplay between women's everyday life and their processes of mobilization (Christensen 1991):

- The 'humanitarian' model has roots in the 'old' women's culture, and women's political identity is connected with motherhood and family. These women have been mobilized rather late in the life-cycle, and their political objective is 'equal worth', i.e. that women and men are different but equal.



- The 'egalitarian' model has roots in the new women's culture, and women's political identity is connected with the public, political sphere. These young well-educated women have been mobilized in order to influence politics and they participate as women-citizens in a dialogue with politicians. Their political objective is 'equal rights' for women and men.

- The 'radical-feminist' model has roots in the new feminist movement and in the feminist culture. Women's political identity is connected with the elimination of sexual dominance, and their objective is to create a feminist counter culture. They focus on the oppression of women, and the feminist objective is 'emancipation'.

To sum up, feminist scholars have conceptualized the inequality in women's and men's citizen roles in relation to the state and the political community. And feminist research has shown that there are differences between women's 'models of mobilization' in relation to motherhood, wage work and politics that must be taken seriously (Christensen 1989). One crucial question is whether women's mobilization has been connected to one generation of women in the welfare generation, or whether it has spread to the younger and older groups of women? Another key question is whether women's mobilization will necessarily abolish gender inequality in politics?

## **II. Gender Differences in Political Participation**

The investigation of democratic citizenship in Denmark was inspired by the ideal of a 'full and equal' citizenship, and 'freedom, equality and solidarity' were key concepts. In the Danish and Swedish investigations the focus was on the political participation and values of citizens. Citizenship was defined "as the relation of individuals to the institutions and fora where they meet to discuss and resolve matters

of common concern" (Andersen a.o. 1993:18). From this perspective democratic citizenship has two dimensions: A 'political-institutional' (vertical) dimension - stressing the rights and obligations of citizens towards the state, which is crucial for the ability of citizens to participate in the forming of society. And a 'political-communal' (horizontal) dimension, stressing the collective relations among citizens, which is crucial for the forming of political communities and identities of citizens.

In the Scandinavian studies of citizenship there has been a broad understanding of 'politics' that includes participation in schools, child care institutions and the local area. And there was an emphasis on the interplay between the 'small' and 'big' democracy<sup>5</sup>, and between the roles of citizens in civil society, in the labour market, and in public life (Andersen a.o. 1993 and Petersson a.o. 1989). Finally, there was an emphasis of class, gender and generation as key concepts for an understanding of inequalities in political participation.

The Danish investigation of citizenship shows a general decline in gender differences in political participation during the 1980s. Women have almost the same level of participation in 1979 and in 1990, while the participation of men has decreased. Today women participate to the same degree as men as members of voluntary organizations, in political manifestations and in relation to what has been called the 'small' democracy. There is, however, still inequality in the average level of political participation of men and women on the mass level, especially in political parties, in activity in political organizations and in political contacts. In contrast to the Swedish investigation we did not find any areas that were 'women-dominated', that is areas where women's participation on the average was higher than men's (see Andersen a.o. ch.7).

On the general level there is a puzzling difference in the pattern of political participation in Denmark and Sweden. In Sweden there is a distinct gender differentiation in politics between 'male-dominated' and

'women-dominated' forms of participation: Women are in general more active than men in relation to political manifestations, schools, child care institutions and hospitals. While men are in general more active than women in relation to political parties, membership of organizations and political contacts.

The gender segregation in politics in Sweden corresponds to the division between the 'small' and the 'big' democracy: Women tend to be more active than men in relation to the small democracy, connected with traditional female 'concerns of the community and everyday life', and men tend to be more active in relation to the big democracy, connected with the traditional male 'concerns of the nation'. There are, however, important exceptions to this picture: Women are more active than men in relation political manifestations and protests, and men are more active than women in relation to the work place (Petersson a.o. 1989:149). We shall discuss the national differences between Sweden and Denmark in more detail in relation to the participation of citizen-parents.

## **Gender, Social Class and Generation**

In terms of **social class**<sup>6</sup> we found that gender differences in Denmark are concentrated to three groups: a. The marginalized and unemployed, b. the well-educated employees, and c. the retired groups. In contrast, there was no gender difference among ordinary wage workers, including middle and lower level employees, skilled and unskilled workers. It is unexpected that gender differences in political participation in the Danish investigation are connected to the well-educated employed groups and not to ordinary wage workers.

The implications of these results are far-reaching: First, education has a different effect on the political participation of men and women: High education stimulates political participation, but it stimulates men's political participation to a greater extent than women's. Secondly, education creates a large differentiation in political participa-

tion among women, and it raises women's participation above the average of ordinary (male and female) wage workers. Finally, access to the labour market is more important for women than for men in the sense that unemployment influences women's participation more negatively than men's.

In terms of **generation** there was, as expected, a high degree of equality between men and women in the two youngest generations (under 45 years). In order to discuss women's mobilization in greater detail, we have compared women's and men's mobilization in the group with the highest rate of participation - the well-educated public employees in the welfare generation (see Andersen a.o. 1993, ch. 8):

On the general level, there is a high 'mobilization' of both women and men in this group in the sense that the average political participation of men and women was far above that of men and women in other groups. However, men's average participation rate was higher than women's. This is also the case if we focus exclusively on political manifestations, where women's political mobilization is expected to be high. It is a remarkable result that the gender difference in this highly mobilized group is significantly higher than the gender differences in political participation in the 'non-mobilized' groups.

To sum up, the results challenge the conventional wisdom in political sociology which expects women's increasing education to diminish gender differences in political participation. But they also challenge the feminist belief that women's political mobilization will 'by itself' diminish gender differences in political participation.

The feminist approach that focuses on differences in men's and women's citizen roles can explain gender inequalities in political participation in relation to some aspects of politics, like political parties, political contacts, activities in political organizations and in

relation to the labour market on a structural or institutional level. But this approach cannot explain the different patterns of gender inequality in terms of social class and generation. We suggest that there may be different explanations of gender inequalities in the different social groups:

- Women's traditional identification with the family can be an explanation of women's low political participation in the elderly group of women outside the labour market. The gender division of work in the family may socialize this group to become 'politically passive, powerless and alienated' (Halsaa 1977).
- The gender differentiated labour market may explain women's relatively low participation compared to men in the unemployed and marginalized groups. It can be expected that women's exclusion from politics is strongest in the most deprived groups, because women are more powerless than men as (unemployed) workers and citizens. Access to the labour market may therefore be more important for women than for men. The gender equality among the skilled and unskilled workers supports this conclusion.
- Neither the 'gendered citizenship' or the 'mobilization' thesis can explain gender differences in the two well-educated groups. This result challenges feminist theories that expect gender differences to disappear in the resourceful and mobilized groups, that have grown up with the feminist movement and the institutionalized equality policies.

The challenge for feminist theories is therefore: - to explain gender differences in political mobilization in different social classes and generations, - to explain the 'model of mobilization' for women citizens in the mobilized well-educated groups compared to 'non-

mobilized' groups of women, - and to develop an understanding of the mobilization of different groups of women and men as citizens.

## **Gender Equality as 'Citizen-Parents'**

One of the remarkable results from the Danish investigation of citizenship is the equality in women's and men's roles as citizen-parents in relation to schools and child care institutions. Whereas the Swedish results show an expected gender difference in political participation in these areas in favour of women.

In the appendix (p. 20) we show the gender distribution in parents' participation in relation to schools and child care institutions in Denmark and Sweden. The Danish and Swedish investigations are directly comparable in the sense that the same questions were asked to all parents with children in public service institutions in both investigations:

- "Have you alone, or with others, done anything to exert influence on the conditions in the schools within the last 12 months?"
- "Have you alone, or with others, done anything to exert influence on the conditions in the day care institutions within the last 12 months?"

The table shows that the participation rate of parents in Denmark is high compared to other areas of participation: Between 40 and 50 percent state that they have during the last 12 months tried to influence the two public institutions. And Danish parents have a high 'mobilization' compared to the Swedish level of participation.

It is interesting that a large part of the difference between Denmark and Sweden is concentrated on men: The table shows that Danish men

are more active than Swedish men, especially in relation to participation in the schools. As for participation in child care institutions there is a significant lower level of participation for both Swedish men and Swedish women.

How can national differences between the participation of citizen-parents, and especially between the mobilization of men as citizen-parents be explained? From an **institutional** perspective it has been argued that the Danish schools and child care institutions have a more open and participatory culture than the Swedish schools, that may stimulate the participation of parents in Denmark (Hoff 1993). And the strengthening of the institutional power of parents in Denmark through a new statute for primary school from 1990 may actually stimulate men more than women (Andersen a.o.1993).<sup>7</sup>

From a **gender** perspective the different activity of men as parents is puzzling, because Swedish legislation has in general been more advanced than the Danish in stimulating the rights of parents. One explanation could be that the high level of participation of Danish men as citizen-parents is an indication of a more equal division of work in the family in Denmark than in Sweden in relation to children, which has stimulated the participation of Danish men as citizen-parents.

This is supported by research from Denmark, including data on the division of work between women and men in the family from the Danish investigation of citizenship, that suggests that child care is one of the areas where there has been a growing involvement of men in the family (Langberg 1992). Indirectly, it is supported by Swedish researchers who have argued that the Swedish welfare state, through an adoption of an advanced parental leave open to both parents from 1974, has actually helped to exacerbate the gender division of labour. The reason is that it has been more attractive for women than men to stay home after birth and take care of children (Åström 1992).



One implication of the Danish data is the tendency to 'mobilize' both women and men as citizens through family and 'parenting'. This is an indication that men are no longer mobilized solely by the 'labourmarket' and women by the state. One hypothesis could be that there are today new qualities in the mobilization patterns of both women and men: Parenting plays a growing role in men's mobilization, while the labour market plays a growing role for the mobilization of women.

There are different interpretations of the implication of women's political participation in the 'small' democracy in terms of power and influence between women and men. The participation of parents as citizens in relation to public service institutions represents both potentials and limits: On the one hand, participation is a means to strengthen the power of 'users' of public institutions around their special interests 'as parents'. But it can also be interpreted from a broader political-cultural perspective as a way to create an increasing understanding among citizens around the needs of children<sup>8</sup>.

From a women's perspective participation can be interpreted both in terms of collective mobilization, and in terms of a 'structural' understanding of power<sup>9</sup>. Until we get more knowledge about the meaning and interaction of formal and informal processes of participation of parents as users on a micro-level, there is room for two different interpretations: One interpretation argues that an institutionalization of participation will tend to reproduce gender segregation. From this perspective, we would expect women's participation in the governing bodies of the schools to diminish. This 'structural' argument makes it impossible to change power relations in politics as long as there are unequal power relations in society.

Another interpretation argues that women's political participation on equal par with men as citizens in the small democracy represents new potentials for women's agency. In terms of political mobilization we would expect an empowering of women that would increase their



collective capacities to influence politics. It is more difficult to interpret the political mobilization of men as citizen-parents. One question is, to what extent men and women will cooperate or compete about the institutional posts and social values. Another question is if an increase in the political mobilization of parents will lead to greater equality in the citizen roles of men and women, or to new forms of gender segregation and hierarchy between the 'big' and the 'small' democracy.

## **Perspectives**

The question of gender, citizenship and political mobilization is complex. The results from the Danish investigation point toward new qualities of citizenship that challenge the feminist expectations of 'mobilization' as the road to equality in political participation, and the notions of two different 'models of mobilization' for women and men that are key elements in feminist approaches to citizenship.

The investigations of democratic citizenship in Denmark and Sweden have documented that there are systematic differences in women's and men's citizen roles. This difference in women's and men's relation to political institutions and communities is an expression of a 'gendered' citizenship in Scandinavia. But the new qualities in women's and men's citizen roles both in relation to the family and parenting, and in relation to the labour market raise new research questions.

The article has focused on two different forms of mobilization: One that increases gender inequality in political participation, and another that decreases gender inequality:

The first is connected with the well-educated groups. Here there is a gender inequality in political participation and mobilization that refers to the effect of education on political participation. Education stimulates political participation, but it stimulates men's participation more than women's. This gender differentiation is also found in the

mobilized groups in the welfare generation that have the largest gender differences. This is remarkable, because women in the welfare generation is an 'active and mobilized' group compared to other groups of women and men.

The second form is connected with the participation of parents as citizens in relation to schools and child care institutions. In this case there is no gender difference in the informal political participation, and 'mobilization' refers to the high degree of participation of men. This is a break with the gender division of work in relation to children in favour of women that is found in other countries.

We suggest that these results challenge the feminist understanding of politics, the family and motherhood in different ways:

- The 'mobilization thesis' has focused on the differences in the mobilization of active groups of women on a micro-level. Feminist scholars have assumed that women's mobilization would 'by itself' lead to a higher degree of gender equality in political participation. The Danish case shows the opposite tendency in the sense that the well-educated, mobilized groups have the highest degree of gender inequality. We suggest that mobilization is still an important perspective on political participation, but we need a deeper understanding of differences in mobilization on a micro-level to explain the new qualities of citizenship, especially the gender differences in political participation of the 'mobilized' groups, and the new mobilization of men as citizen-parents.

- The 'gendered' approach to citizenship has analyzed inequalities in women's and men's relation to political institutions and communities from a structural and institutional perspective. Pateman's 'patriarchal model' presumes that gender inequality in politics is determined by the patriarchal division between private and public life, and that 'motherhood' has been the crucial factor excluding women from politics. Pateman expects that 'once the social practice of motherhood and

maternal thinking begins to inform citizenship, the patriarchal division will begin to disintegrate'. Other feminist scholars have assumed that gender differences in politics can be explained by 'the gender division of work in the family', which creates barriers to women's political participation.

We claim that there is no structural 'logic' that determines the relations between the gender division of labour and inequalities in politics. In Scandinavia parenthood, not only motherhood, has become part of political life. One expression of this is the fact that marriage and children are no longer negative barriers but today stimulate the political participation of men and women as citizen-parents. This has created a new situation in Scandinavia where the public/private divide has lost some of its gendered meanings.

The pluralist notion of citizenship has emphasised political participation and mobilization as a key to improvements of women's citizenship and to institutional changes in the public, political life. We agree that this is an important starting point for an understanding of women's citizenship. But there are limits to the abilities of 'participation and mobilization' to abolish gender inequalities in politics without institutional transformations in the 'qualities' of citizenship and deep-going democratizations of both political institutions and everyday life.

Helga Hernes' 'model of mobilization' presumes that women are mobilized by their relation to the state, and men by the relation to the market. This institutional model that focuses on the commonalities among women 'as citizens' is a good starting point for empirical studies. But it needs to be qualified on a micro level in order to explain the new qualities of citizenship, especially the role of the 'family' in men's mobilization as citizen-parents, the role of 'the labour market' in women's mobilization as citizens, and the meaning of differences among women in terms of class and generation.

To sum up, we find that there is today a need to combine analyses of the new qualities of citizenship on a macrolevel with analyses that focus on different 'models of mobilization' for women and men on a microlevel, not only in terms of social class and generation but also in relation to the new citizen roles and changes in everyday life.

## Appendix

Percentage of parents active in relation to schools and day care institutions in Denmark, 1990, and in Sweden, 1988.

	Women	Men
<b>Denmark</b>		
Active in relation to schools (N=463)	44%	42%
Active in relation to day care institutions (N=233)	48%	45%
<b>Sweden</b>		
Active in relation to schools	39%	32%
Active in relation to day care institutions	28%	26%

- \* Material from the Danish and Swedish investigations of citizenship. Women are overrepresented among Danish parents, therefore the small gender differences in the table are not statistically significant.

## Notes:

1. The two investigations used the same methodology. They were both quantitative representative surveys based on large questionnaires. The Swedish investigation is from 1988 and the Danish from 1990. The Danish questionnaire was designed with a comparative purpose both in relation to the Swedish investigation and in relation to a previous investigation of political participation in Denmark from 1980. For a more detailed description of the methodology of the Danish investigation see Andersen a.o. 1993, appendix I-V. The questionnaire has been translated into English, and can be required by contacting the Department of Economics, Politics and Administration, Aalborg University.
2. Carole Pateman has had a pioneering role in the development of the feminist theories of citizenship (Pateman 1985, 1988, 1989). For an overview of different feminist approaches to citizenship see Jones 1990 and for a comparison of the international and the Scandinavian debate see Siim 1993b.
3. In Pateman's analysis there is an ambiguity in relation to the implications of the biological difference between women and men. The notion of a 'sexually differentiated citizenship' is one expression of this ambiguity between biological sex and social gender.
4. Hernes' analysis is a challenge to Marshall's thinking, because she claims that women's access to citizenship has been different than men's in the sense that access to political citizenship for women did not, as for the working class, come before access to social citizenship. Research from Scandinavia shows that the interplay between social rights and political participation has taken different forms in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Leira 1992, Skjeie 1992).
5. The 'small' democracy is defined as the ability of citizens to determine matters of common concern through the direct, personal interaction of citizens, for example through meetings in the workplace, in schools, child care institutions and the local area. 'Big' democracy on the other hand is the ability of citizens to determine matters of common concern, for example through political parties, elections and voluntary organizations.

6. The understanding of social class in the Danish investigation has been inspired by Eric Ohlin Wright. The three elements defining social class are: a. ownership or non-ownership of the means of production, b. educational resources, c. organizational resources. Combining these three elements give eleven different social groups: 1. Top managers, 2. Small business men, 3. Well-educated middle-level employees, 4. Well-educated employees, 5. Middle-level employees, 6. Lower-level employees, 7. Skilled workers, 8. Unskilled workers, 9. Unemployed and marginalized workers, 10. Students, and 11. Retired groups. See Andersen a.o. ch. 6 and ch.7.
7. According to the statute, the school councils were succeeded by governing bodies that were given greater authority to decide things themselves in central areas of school life (Torpe 1993). A local investigation of school boards in the county of Aalborg showed that a formalization of participation resulted in an increase in social and gender inequality (Andersen a.o. 1993).
8. There is a difference between participation of citizens as 'citizens' in politics and the formal and informal participation of citizens as 'users' of public institutions. In their roles as 'citizens' they are expected to focus on the 'common good', whereas in their roles as 'citizen-users' they are expected to focus on the interests of that specific group. The strengthening of the power of users may therefore lead to an increasing fragmentation of citizenship because citizens pursue their own narrow group interests (Hernes 1987). We do not know whether the division between the roles as 'citizens' and 'citizen-users' has the same meaning for women and men, and it may be argued that there is a collective dimension to the role of parents and the perspective of the 'needs of children' that is different from other user roles (Hoff 1993).
9. There are both informal and formal aspects of parents' participation as users, and research has shown a tendency toward greater gender and social equality in the informal roles than in the formal representation of parents as users (Siim 1993a).

## **Bibliography:**

- Andersen, Johannes, Ann-Dorte Christensen, Kamma Langberg, Birte Siim and Lars Torpe (1993): **Medborgerskab. Demokrati og politisk deltagelse** (Citizenship. Democracy and Political Participation), Herning, Systime.
- Andersen, Johannes & Lars Torpe (eds.)(1994): **Demokrati og politisk kultur. Rids af et demokratisk medborgerskab** (Democracy and Political Culture. Outline of a Democratic Citizenship), Herning, Systime.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte (1989): **Ulydige kvinders magt. Kvindefredslejren i Ravnstrup som politisk process** (The Women's Peace Camp in Ravnstrup as a Political Process), Aalborg, Aalborg Universitetsforlag.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte (1991): "Women in the New Peace Movement in Denmark. Empowering and Identity" in T. Andreasen, A. Borchorst, D. Dahlerup, E. Lous and H. Rimmen-Nielsen eds. **Moving On. New Perspectives on the Women's Movement**, 153-174, Århus, Aarhus University Press.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte & Birte Siim (1989): "Køn, magt og demokrati. Mod et dynamisk magtbegreb" (Gender, Power and Democracy. Toward a dynamic Concept of Power) in **Årbog for kvindeforskning** (Yearbook for Women's Research), Århus, Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Demokrati och Makt i Sverige. Maktudredningens huvudrapport** (1990) (Democracy and Power in Sweden. The Main Report from the Swedish Commission of Power), SOU 1990:44.
- Dietz, Mary (1992): "Context is all: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship" in Chantal Mouffe ed. **Dimensions of Radical Democracy**, 63-89, London, Verso.
- Gundelach, Peter (1988): **Sociale bevægelser og samfundsændringer** (Social Movements and Social Change), Århus, Politica.
- Haalsaa, Beatrice (1977): **Kvinner og politisk deltagelse** (Women and Political Participation), Oslo, Pax Forlag A/S.
- Hernes, Helga (1987): **Welfare State and Woman Power**, Oslo, Norwegian University Press.



- Hernes, Helga (1988): "Scandinavian Citizenship" in **Acta Sociologica**, vol. 31 no. 3, 199-215.
- Hirdman, Yvonne (1990): "Genussystemet" (The Gender System), ch. 3 in **Demokrati och Makt i Sverige. Maktudredningens huvudrapport**, SOU 1990:44.
- Hirdman, Yvonne (1991): "The Gender System" in T. Andreasen, A. Borchorst, D. Dahlerup, E. Lous and H. Rimmen-Nielsen eds. **Moving On. New Perspectives on the Women's Movement**, 187-207, Århus, Aarhus University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1990): **Culture Shift in the Advanced Industrial Societies**, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Jónasdóttir, Anna (1991): **Love Power and Political Interests. Towards a Theory of Patriarchy in Contemporary Western Societies**, Ørebro Studies 7, Kumla.
- Jones, Kathy (1990): "Citizenship in a Women-friendly Polity" in **Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society**, vol. 15, no. 41, 761-793.
- Kymlicke, Will (1992): **Recent Work in Citizenship Theory**, Department of Philosophy, University of Ottawa, Sept. 1992.
- Langberg, Kamma (1993): "Medborgerskabet i Danmark. Statistiske metoder i et politologisk projekt. Køn, arbejdsdeling og politisk deltagelse" (Citizenship in Denmark. Statistical Methods in a Politological Project) forthcoming in T. Lund ed. **Symposium i anvendt statistik**, København, UNIC.
- Leira, Arnlaug (1992): **Models of Motherhood. Welfare State Policy and Scandinavian Experiences of Everyday Practices**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall, T.H. & Tom Bottomore (1992): **Citizenship and Social Class**, London, Pluto Perspectives.
- Mouffe, Chantal (1992a): **Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship and Community**, London, Verso.

- Mouffe, Chantal (1992b): "Feminism, Citizenship and Radical Democratic Politics", in Judith Butler and Joan Scott eds. **Feminists Theorize the Political**, 369-384, London, Routledge.
- Pateman, Carole (1985): **Women and Democratic Citizenship**, The Jefferson Memorial Lectures, delivered at the University of California, Berkeley, February 1985.
- Pateman Carole (1988): **The Sexual Contract**, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Pateman, Carole (1989): **The Disorder of Women. Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory**, Polity Press.
- Peterson, Abby (1987): **Women in "Political" Movements**, Monograph from the Department of Sociology, Göteborg, no. 37.
- Petersson, Oluf, Anders Westholm and Göran Blomberg (1989): **Medborgarnas Makt** (The Power of Citizens), Carlssons.
- Philips, Anne (1992): **Engendering Democracy**, London, Polity Press.
- Philips, Anne (1993): **Democracy and Difference**, London, Polity Press.
- Shanley, Mary and Carole Pateman (1993): **Feminist Interpretations of Political Theory**, London, Polity Press.
- Siim, Birte (1988): "Towards a Feminist Rethinking of the Welfare State" in Kathy Jones and Anna Jónasdóttir eds. **The Political Interests of Women. Developing Theory and Research with a Feminist Face**, 160-187, London, Sage University Press.
- Siim, Birte (1993a): "The Gendered Scandinavian Welfare States: The Interplay between Women's Roles as Mothers, Workers and Citizens in Denmark" in Jane Lewis ed. **Women and Social Policies in Europe. Work, Family and the State**, 25-48, London, Edward Elgar.
- Siim, Birte (1993b): "Det kønnede demokrati - kvinders medborgerskab i de skandinaviske velfærdsstater" (Gendered Democracy. Women's Citizen-

ship in the Scandinavian Welfare States) forthcoming in Anne Hilde Nagel ed. **Kjønn og velfärdsstat**, Oslo, Alma Mater.

Skjeie, Hege (1992): **Den politiske betydningen av kjønn. En studie av norsk top-politik** (The Political Meaning of Gender. A study of Norwegian Top-Policy), Oslo, Institutt for samfunnsforskning, Rapport 92:11.

Svensson, Palle & Lise Togeby (1986): **Politisk Opbrud. De nye mellemlags græsrodsdeltagelse** (Political Change. The Grass Root Participation of the New Middle Groups), Århus, Politica.

Togeby, Lise (1989): "Politisering af kvinder og af kvindespørgsmålet" (Politicizing Women and Women's Issues) in Elklit og Tongsård eds. **To folketingsvalg. Vælgerholdninger og vælgeradfærd i 1987 og 1988**, 227-254, Århus, Politica.

Togeby, Lise (1994): "The Political Implications of the Increasing Number of Women in the Labour Force" in **Comparative Political Studies**, vol. 27, no. 2.

Touraine, Allan (1981): **The Voice and the Eye. An Analysis of Social Movements**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Åström Gertrud (1992): "Faste forbindelser. Om velfärdsreformer och kvinnors velfärd" (Solid Relations. Welfare Reform and Women's Welfare) in Åström and Yvonne Hirdman eds. **Kontrakt i kris. Om kvinnors plats i velfärdsstaten** (Contract in Crisis. Women's Position in the Welfare State), 183-204, Stockholm, Carlssons.

# **Programme**

## **Gender Relations - State, Market, and Civil Society The Nordic Experiences in a European Perspective**

**Aalborg University, Fibigerstræde 2  
August 14 - 18, 1993**

**Programme Committee:  
Ruth Emerek, Ulla Koch, Anna-Birte Ravn, and Birte Siim**

## Sunday, August 15

- 9.00 - 10.00 a.m. **Registration and coffee**
- 10.00 - 10.30 a.m. **Introduction and presentation**
- 10.30 - 12.30 a.m. **Sylvia Walby:** *Different Forms of Patriarchy: European Comparisons*
- 12.30 - 2.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**
- 2.00 - 3.00 p.m. **Section I: Gender and the Labour Market**  
Introduction by Ruth Emerek & Bodil Bjerring: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender and the Labour Market: Status and Visions*
- 3.00 - 6.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section I**  
Discussion of main problems and key concepts  
Chair: Drude Dahlerup  
Marianne Rostgård: *The Creation of a Gendered Division of Labour in the Danish Textile Industry*  
Iris Rittenhofer: *Leadership in a Genderhistorical Perspective*  
Yvonne Due Billing: *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding*  
Eileen Drew: *The Part-Time Option? Women and Part-Time Work in the European Community*  
Bodil Bjerring: *Women's Industrial Work in North Jutland*  
Ruth Emerek: *On the Subject of Measuring Women's (and Men's) Participation in the Labour Market - An Attempt to categorize and examine Wage Earners Participation in the Labour Market*
- 6.00 - 8.00 p.m. **Dinner**
- 8.00 - 9.30 p.m. **Ph.D. programmes in England, Ireland and Sweden**  
Introduction by Sylvia Walby, Eileen Drew & Yvonne Hirdman

## Monday, August 16

- 9.00 - 10.45 a.m. **Jane Lewis:** *Gender and Social Policy in Europe: Work, the Family, and the State*
- 10.45 - 11.00 a.m. **Coffee break**
- 11.00 - 12.00 a.m. **Section II: Gender, Welfare, and the Family**  
Introduction by Maren Bak: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender, Welfare and the Family: Status and Visions*
- 12.00 - 1.00 p.m. **Section III: Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship**  
Introduction by Birte Siim: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship: Status and Visions*
- 1.00 - 3.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**

- 3.00 - 6.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section II & III**  
 Discussion of main problems and key concepts  
 Chair: Karen Sjørup  
 Ulla Koch: *Studying Care in Modern Economies - Considerations on Methods and Theory Building*  
 Drude Dahlerup: *Learning to Live with the State. State, Market and Civic Society: Women's Need for State Intervention in East and West*  
 Anette Aunbirk: *Negotiating Parental Leave*  
 Maren Bak: *Family Research and Theory in Denmark: A Literature Review*  
 Birte Siim: *Gender, Power and, Democratic Citizenship*  
 Ann-Dorte Christensen: *Gender, Mobilization, and Empowerment*
- 7.30 - **Dinner**

## Tuesday, August 17

- 9.00 - 10.45 a.m. **Yvonne Hirdman: Gender Systems and the Nordic Welfare States**  
 10.45 - 11.00 a.m. **Coffee break**  
 11.00 - 12.00 a.m. **Section IV: Gender Theory and Feminist Research**  
 Introduction by Anna-Birte Ravn & Susanne Thorbek: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender Theory: Status and Visions*
- 12.00 - 2.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**
- 2.00 - 4.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section IV**  
 Discussion of main problems and key concepts  
 Chair: Birte Siim  
 Karen Sjørup: *Patriarchy and the Female Subject*  
 Hanne Marlene Dahl: *Contemporary Theories of Patriarchy - Like a Bird Without Wings? Power, Signification and Gender in the Reproduction of Patriarchy*  
 Lene Gregersen: *Moving far beyond the Separated Fields of Patriarchal Scholarship; the Qualitative Leap of Philosophical Daring*  
 Susanne Thorbek: *Gender in two Slum Cultures*  
 Anna-Birte Ravn: *Equality versus Difference and Gender versus Class in Danish Women's History*
- 4.00 - 5.00 p.m. **General conclusions on the contents of Ph.D. programmes in social science gender studies**  
 Chair: Ruth Emerek, Ulla Koch, Anna-Birte Ravn and Birte Siim

## Wednesday, August 18

- 9.00 - 12.00 a.m. Meeting on future national and international cooperation on Ph.D. programmes in social science gender studies

## Conference papers published elsewhere:

Sylvia Walby: 'Gender, Work and Fordism: The EC Context'. **International Journal of Sociology**, Winter 1994-95. To be reprinted in Thomas Boje (ed.): **Welfare State and the Labour Market in a Changing Europe: Consequences for Citizenship, Work and Gender**. M.E. Sharpe.

Yvonne Hirdmann: **Women - from Possibility to Problem? Gender Conflict in the Welfare State - the Swedish Model**. Research Report No. 3, 1994, Stockholm: Arbetslivscentrum.

Marianne Rostgård: 'The Creation of a Gendered Division of Labour in the Danish Textile Industry'. In Gertjan de Groot & Marlou Schrover (eds.): **Women Workers and Technological Change in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe**. The Falmer Press (UK), 1994.

Yvonne Due Billing & Mats Alvesson: 'Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding'. **Organization Studies** 13/12 1992, 73-102.

Eileen Drew: 'The Part-Time Option? Women and Part-Time Work in the European Community'. **Women's Studies International Forum**, Vol. 15, Nos. 5/6, 1992, 607-614.

Bodil Bjerring: 'Kvinder på fabriksarbejde i Nordjylland'. In Esther Fihl & Jens Pinholt: **Livsformer og kultur**. Århus: Akademisk Forlag 1992.

Drude Dahlerup: 'Learning to Live with the State - State, Market, and Civil Society: Women's Need for State Intervention in East and West'. **Women's Studies International Forum**, Vol. 17, Nos. 2/3, 1994, 117-127.

Anette Aunbirk: 'Forhandling om forældreorlov'. **Dansk Sociologi** nr. 3. 1993, 56-72.

Susanne Thorbek: 'Gender in Two Slum Cultures'. In Signe Arnfred et al. (eds.): **The Language of Development Studies**. Copenhagen 1990. And in **Environment and Urbanization**, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1991.

Anna-Birte Ravn: 'Equality versus Difference and Gender versus Class in Danish Women's History'. To appear in **NORA - Nordic Journal of Women's Studies**, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1995.

## **Publikationer i FREIA's skriftserie:**

1. Karin Widerberg: Udfordringer til kvinneforskningen i 1990'erne - foredrag på Center for Kvinneforskning i Aalborg 10.5.90, 1992
2. Feminist Research. Aalborg University. Report 1976-1991, 1992
3. Ann-Dorte Christensen: Kvinder i den nye fredsbevægelse i Danmark - mellem køkkenruller, resolutioner og teltpæle, 1992
4. Ulla Koch: Uformel økonomi og social arbejdsdeling - en fortælling om tværfaglighed og det umuliges kunst, 1992
5. Marianne Rostgaard: Kvindearbejde og kønsarbejdsdeling i tekstilindustrien i Danmark ca. 1830 - 1915, 1992
6. Inger Agger: Køn og krænkelse - om politisk vold mod kvinder, 1992
7. Margrethe Holm Andersen: Heks, hore eller heltinde? - et case-studie om tanzanianske kvinders politiske deltagelse og kønsideologier i forandring, 1993
8. Ulla Koch: A Feminist Political Economics of Integration in the European Community - an outline, 1993
9. Susanne Thorbek: Urbanization, Slum Culture, Gender Struggle and Women's Identity, 1993
10. Susanne Thorbek: Køn og Urbanisering, 1994
11. Poul Knopp Damkjær: Kvinder & rektorstillinger - et indlæg i ligestillingsdebatten, 1994
12. Birte Siim: Det kønnede demokrati - kvinders medborgerskab i de skandinaviske velfærdsstater, 1994
13. Anna-Birte Ravn: Kønsarbejdsdeling - diskurs og magt, 1994.
14. Bente Rosenbeck: Med kønnet tilbage til den politiske historie, 1994
15. Jytte Bang og Susanne Stubgaard: Piger og fysik i gymnasiet, 1994
16. Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen og Monica Rudberg: Jenter og gutter i forandring, 1994
17. Jane Lewis: Gender, Family and the Study of Welfare 'Regimes', 1995
18. Iris Rittenhofer: A Roll in the Hay with the Director: The Manager in a Genderhistorical Perspective, 1995



19. Ruth Emerek: On the Subject of Measuring Women's (and Men's) Participation in the Labour Market, 1995
20. Maren Bak: Family Research and Theory in Denmark: A Literature Review, 1995
21. Ann-Dorte Christensen & Birte Siim: Gender, Citizenship and Political Mobilization, 1995

FREIA - the Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg is an interdisciplinary organization of feminist researchers at Aalborg University. Focus of the centre lies within the social sciences, especially the fields of anthropology, history, sociology/social science, political science, economics and development studies. The present research programme "Gender relations - power, identity and social change" forms the framework of a number of individual and collective projects. FREIA is part of the Department of Development and Planning at Aalborg University.